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880 live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

734 763 It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171;1863) first wrote about this: "Ookokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (e):332 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tabacana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tabacana, is probably a mistake; in BD:394 it is given /1030/ correctly as tatabáku, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 205, as well as Hyades (p):333, (g):39, and (q):235 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

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734 a definite instance which he might have observed, and Hyades
763 (q):242, referring to alleged infanticide and the strangulation of individuals on the point of death, relies on statements of the missionaries and is careful to say that "personally we have not been able to verify these last two assertions" /translated from French/. As late as 1929, Spencer:88, leaned toward this view, without any kind of proof.

763 A way out of this uncertainty is provided by an opinion for which I am indebted to the brothers, Martin and Fred Lawrence, with whom I had long discussions. They said that it is possible and most likely that some one, at the sight of a relative caught in the death struggle, lost control of himself after several hours. In his agitation, driven by his own pain at the imminent separation from the dying one and impotent in the face of the hopelessness of recovery, he may have seized his throat and strangled him so that instantly the death rattle and any movement stopped. This happened, however, only when the dying person was completely unconscious and there was absolutely no hope of recovery. The desire was simply to terminate his agony.

Only once did I come across the following remark, "taken from conversations with Mrs. Burleigh" /cited in English/ (MM: XXVIII, 126;1894): "In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death" /cited in English/. Such behavior so obviously contradicts everything that has been definitely proved about the value of Yamana put on human life that any comment is superfluous. They have never been cannibals (p. 254 /untranslated/), nor does suicide
[762] occur among them, according to definite assertions by Dabbene (b):203 and Bridges (a):211.

181 The entire social order of our Fuegians impresses one as kind and worthy of human beings, for it rests on natural marital relations and favorable mutual relations between parents and children, between the members of a kinship group, and among all the local groups. The small population and the lack of serious disturbances from without facilitate the cohesion of the people as a whole. This social order is conditioned by the nature of the economy of our Yamana. The charming picture of the harmoniously balanced

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775 the aśóula through our region here [as though they were on a journey], as the yékamuš who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the kéšpiš of the yékamuš and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he threshes about excitedly. That is his kéšpiš which is leaving him. After that the kéšpiš stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call; it sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the kéšpiš of the drowned person." As for the yékamuš, "all persons surrounding a dying yékamuš must continually utter a wailing hu hu hu; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the Haučélla spirit (37) that is leaving the dying yékamuš.

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37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 746 .

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The kéšpiš of certain persons, including those of the yékamuš, are strongly attracted by Haučélla. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a kéšpiš appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

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38. Bove (d):297 and (e):159 assert: "In general the Fuegians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (a):172 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

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1. Death

761 The Fuegian faces all uncertainty with astonishing equanimity and quiet self-control. He is able /1102/ to await death with open eyes, without fear and alarm. Hyades (p):328 expresses himself conservatively and merely says: "They have little fear of death" /translated from French/, but this is admitting too much. Bridges (i):14 expresses himself more accurately: "They feared death because of the suffering and misery attending it and because it was the end of life" /cited in English/. Certainly, everyone clings to life and loves it very much; for that reason also the threats of Watauinēiwa of an untimely death have a sure effect on the individual's conduct. As soon as he sees there is no escape, however, he submits at once without complaint. One never hears a person regretting that he must depart from this life, although he knows nothing about the new form of existence which he is entering.

165 761 [731] In earlier centuries, as in most recent times, almost all Yamana died a natural death. Fatal accidents were exceptions and murder even more so. It has been shown that epidemics have wrought havoc in the Indian population only since their closer association with Europeans. Except for children's deaths, the greater majority of Yamana succumb to old age. "Old people die because they are old!" Although in this case the Indians place more emphasis on the natural process as something they take for granted, nevertheless they do not completely forget that Watauinēiwa causes death.

763 The indications of approaching death usually appear suddenly. If a person feels his strength leaving him, he stretches out on his miserable pallet and informs those present of his condition. They immediately take it into account, and from then on the nearest relatives stay close to him in order to observe the course of events. In such a situation death usually follows within a few hours. Strangely enough they make no effort to relieve the dying person by attending him, but squat around the fire, apparently quite indifferent. The person himself does not want or demand anything, for he rapidly becomes weaker. Actually the people present are waiting for a quick end and do not watch the dying one closely because they know they cannot help him. When the

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763 death rattle begins, they audibly start to moan and weep. This development almost always ends quickly.

The news has of course immediately spread to the nearest 763 huts. The neighbors remain quiet. They talk in subdued voices 152 among themselves and cease any work that might be disturbing. The longer this continues, the more silent, thoughtful, and sad they become. The reminder of death in the immediate neighborhood makes every Yamana serious. The neighbors, through messengers, keep other people in a wide area informed about the course of events. They are prepared /1103/ to appear at the place of mourning at the proper moment. It is not customary among the Yamana for many people to gather around the dying person. Distant relatives and neighbors arrive only after death has occurred. Every dying person, however, wants his intimate family to be with him during his last hours (41).

> 41. As Bridges (i):14 expresses it: "at the last closing scene all friends and relations were expected to be present and to make the occasion important by their united lamentations. It was a great gratification to the sick to have their friends around them and so much honour showing them" /cited in English/.

The nearest relatives of the dying person, however, observe him closely enough so that they can estimate when the actual death struggle will commence. The poor soul is by then already unconscious or at least insensible. Now the people standing around begin their loud weeping and pitiful moaning. They scream and lament as though in despair over the departure of this relative. They do not utter definite words, but constantly repeat their long drawn-out weeping and moaning cries, varying them in intensity and pitch and shedding copious tears at the same time. They get up and crouch down, or they throw themselves on top of the dying one and roll on the ground with dreadful contortions of their entire bodies. They can usually tell quickly and accurately when death is setting in, whereupon they cry out so shrilly and shriekingly that

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763 152 one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scatter the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is shattering to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clutch their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

42. Bove (e):159 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 134 There is little difference in the procedure when a person is released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives; friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

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763 134 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

731 766 Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a person who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

763 152 The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watauineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 114 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief, however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato